

THE  
HISTORY <sup>1848</sup><sub>2</sub>  
OF THE  
Life *and* Reign  
OF  
EDWARD II.

CONTAINING  
A Full Account of the Tyrannical Government of his Favourites and Minions.

The several Struggles of the Barons for Liberty in his Time:

The Bloody Executions when the Minions prevail'd.

Their ill Treatment of the Queen and the Prince.

The Deposing of *Edward* II, and the Election of *Edward* III.

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By the Author of the *Life and Reign of Henry VI.*

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To which are added,  
The Political Reflections of a Person of  
QUALITY.

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# HISTORY

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OF EDWARD II.

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The Political Relations of a Tyrant

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THE Design of Writing the Lives of those of our Kings, who having broken through all the Laws of God and Man, did their utmost to introduce Arbitrary Power, and deprive the People of *England* of their Liberty, has been so well approv'd and receiv'd, that it will be now persv'd till our History has no more such wicked Examples left, to deter future Princes from the like Illegal Practices. One wou'd think the Misery that has always attend

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ded those Kings and their Ministers, should have been a sufficient warning to all their Successors to make the Law the Rule of their Government: But the unhappy Conduct and Fate of King *James II.* shew us, that as nothing can prevent Ill Minds from running into the same Excesses, so nothing can hinder the Just Judgment of Heaven from following them with that Destruction which they intended for others.

I shall take no further Notice of the Life and Reign of this or any other Prince, than as it respects the before-mention'd Design, leaving it to those who are more delighted in such Things to entertain the World with what they call the *Remarkables* of those Times, as *Winds, Rains, Comets, Dearth, Plagues*, and the like; neither shall I enter into a detail of Battels on any Occasion, farther than is necessary to give a clear View of the Facts I treat of and their Consequences.

King *Edward I.* the Father of *Edward II.* was a Wise and Warlike Prince, who in all probability would have made in his own Days such an Union with *Scotland*, that the *English* shou'd never have wanted another. His Arms having reduc'd the Capital and all the strong Holds, forc'd the *Scots* King to do him Homage, and even to surrender his Kingdom, and at the time of his Death, he was preparing to chastise that Nation for a Revolt, in which, if he had succeeded, as tis likely he

he wou'd have done, the Dispute about that Crown would have been at an end. But the Succession of a weak Prince animated the *Seers* in their struggle for Freedom, and their Courage in so good a Cause was crown'd with Success. An old Author says of the first Edward, *Wise he was and Virtuous, an earnest Enemy of the High and Presumptuous Insolence of Priests, the which he judged to proceed chiefly of too much Wealth and Riches.*

Edward II. came to the Crown, A. D. 1307. with greater Hopes than any King of England ever did before. Besides his large Territories on the Continent, which were a Third Part of the Kingdom of France, Scotland, as has been said, was thought to be very near a Conquest; Wales a Province, which had till then given great Troubles to the Kings of England, submitted with Joy to a Prince whom they look'd upon as their own, he taking his Name from *Carnarvon*, where he was born; but all these Promises of Greatness came to nothing, through the Lawless Government of Lewd Ministers and Favourites, to whose Management he gave up himself and his Dominions.

The Chief of these Favourites Ministers, and the lewdest of them was *Piers Gaveston*, a young Gascon Gentleman, who drew him into so many Extravagant Riots while he was Prince of Wales, that the King his Father commanded him to be imprison'd, and Gaveston to be banish'd.



nish'd. But no sooner was the King Dead than *Gaveston* was recall'd, and *Walter Langton*, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, Lord High Treasurer, deliver'd into his Custody, being the Man who had complain'd to King *Edward* of the Prince and *Piers's* robbing his Park. *Edward II.* seiz'd his Lands and Tenements, and gave all his Moveables to *Gaveston* three Days after the Death of his Father.

This young Statesman did he also make Secretary of State, and created him a Peer, tho' he was rather fit to have been a Pander to his Lust than a Ruler of his Kingdoms, being the most wanton debauch'd Youth in all his Dominions. He us'd him, says honest *Holinshed*, as a Procurer of his disorder'd Doings, gave himself to Wantonness, and had his Nobles in no Regard. I cannot help observing what was one of the Methods this Political Rake made use of to establish himself in his Ministry, which I shall do in the same Historians Words. He furnish'd his Court with Jesters, flattering Parasites, and other vile and naughty Ribalds. He thought he cou'd not fix his own Authority but by ruining the Reputation of thole whose Merit entitled them to it, and had his Sicophants and Jesters to blacken them, and turn the best and greatest Actions into Ridicule, while, no doubt, they complimented the abus'd King *Edward* with Attributes that made him, in his own Opinion, little less than a God.

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The Secretary's Place did not long satisfy the new Lord *Gaveston*: The greatest Match in *England* must be look'd out for him, no less than the King's Neice *Joan de Acres*, Daughter to the Earl of *Gloucester*, by *Edward's* Sister, which contracted him so much Envy, that his Fall cou'd not but be as precipitate as his Rise was hasty.

The Marriage of this King with *Isabel*, Daughter of *Philip the the Fair*, gave his Son the Right of Succession to the Crown of *France*; but as the *French* are very Liberal of disposing of other Crowns, whether they have any Right to 'em or not, so are they very tenacious of their own, and that Right has been of no use to the *English* but to create Wars, and give the *French* an opportunity to insult them, by refusing to own their Title in some of their Treaties.

'Tis easy to be imagin'd, that such a Minister as this young Secretary, so Incautious, so Arrogant, and so Corrupt, must make himself many Enemies, who in the Language of some Modern Writers, were doubtless vilify'd by him and his Creatures, as Men of Republican and Antimonarchical Principles, Enemies to that Government whom all their Care was to save. But it happen'd that these Men were the Prime of the Ancient Nobility, the Sons of such as had stood in the Gap when a Breach was made in the *English* Constitution, by the Arbitrary Practices of this King's Grandfather, who  
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was also govern'd by his Minions. The chief of the Barons that now appear'd in the Defence of the Laws against the Usurpations of *Goveston*, were the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, *Gloucester*, *Hereford*, and *Arundel*, who by some late Authors wou'd have been term'd the *Junto*. These so well manag'd Matters, that the Parliament joyn'd with them against *Piers*, whom the King was forc'd to banish, and to prevent further Disgrace and Mischief he retir'd to *Bristol*, and thence to *Ireland*, having been in his Place but Ten Months. King *Edward* so far comply'd with his Parliament as to order him to be gone. However, he soon let the World see, that the Favour which is acquir'd by the Corruption of ill Ministers in weak Princes, is much stronger than what is obtain'd by true Merit; for he appointed him to be Deputy of the Kingdom to which he fled, and the Lords finding there was no Change of Councils for the better, chose rather to admit his Return on hopes of an Amendment of his Manners, than to leave him in Possession of a Post of that Trust, and keep the King always in an ill Humour with them for his Absence.

There were several good Acts past in the Parliament holden *A. D.* 1310. and Excommunication pronounc'd against all that broke them. They were also sent to all Cathedral Churches and Counties to be register'd; but the King would not observe



observe them, and *Gaveston* grown more Insolent on the Impotent Attempt of the Lords to remove him from the King's Presence for ever, treated them with the utmost Contempt, so far despising the Hatred of the People, that being Keeper of the King's Jewels and Plate, he sent to *Gascoign* a Gold Table and Stands, which Tradition reported to be King *Arthur's*. This unpopular Piece of Avarice made him more Odious, inso-much, that the Barons met at *Lincoln* in the Year 1311, without any Command or Authority of the King's, and there, says an old Historian, *they took Counsel together, and concluded to banish him out of the Realm*. How these Affairs were transacted, how Lords could take Counsel and banish a Favourite, without taking Arms too, is to me very unintelligible, and all this *fore against the King's Will and Pleasure*, who once more sent him away, and he went to *Flanders*, where he was not above six Weeks before he recall'd him again. There being in the Society of wicked Men a Communication of Vices, that renders Life insupportable without it.

*Gaveston*, tho he was no great Heroe, yet he had a foul Tongue and the Air of a Bully, back'd by the immoderate Affection of his Master, and not only had his Buffoons to rail at the Lords who oppos'd him, but gave them ill Names himself, suitable to the Wit of his Midnight Revels. The Earl of *Gloucester* he call'd  
*Bastard*

*Bastard, the Earl of Lincoln, Bursten-Belly, the Earl of Warwick the Black Dog of Arden, the Earl of Lancaster, Churl, and other Lords of the Ancient Nobility by the like contumelious Names, which, and his continuing to abuse the King's Favour, oblig'd them to take up Arms to be reveng'd on him, as my Author phrases it, and dispatch the Realm of such a wicked Person.*

The Barons assembled at *Bedford*, where they made the Earl of *Gloucester* Custos-*Anglia*, and took Care to guard the Sea, least Foreigners should come in to aid the King. By this it may be observ'd, says Sir *Robert Howard*, that it was presumed when a King violates his Oaths and Contracts with the People, that they had a Right to endeavour to relieve themselves, and to take Care of the Administration of that Power that he had so much abused and forfeited.

The King was with his Queen and *Gaveston* at *Tork*, where hearing the Barons was advancing towards them with their Powers, he got to *Newcastle*, and thence to *Tinmouth*. The Lords took *Newcastle*, and King *Edward* leaving his Queen at *Tinmouth*, fled with his Minion to *Scarborough*, where he committed the Castle to *Gaveston*, and rode away to *Warwick*. The Lords hasten'd to *Scarborough* and compell'd *Gaveston* to yield himself on no other Condition but that he might be suffer'd to talk with the King, who sent to them and commanded 'em to bring him to him, promising

missing them full Satisfaction. However, the Lords would not consent to it, till the Earl of *Pembroke*, a true old *English* Baron, promis'd on the Forfeiture of all he was worth, to carry him and bring him back as he receiv'd him. Upon which the Barons agreed he and *Gaveston* should go, but the E. of *Warwick* watching his Opportunity when the E. of *Pembroke* had left him for a Night with his Servants at *Dedington*, took him from them, carry'd him to *Warwick*, and after some Debate, by the Advice of a grave Gentleman, his Head was chopt off without any other Tryal, a just Reward, to use the Words of an ancient Historian, for his esteeming the Nobles of the Land as Men of such Inferiority as that in comparison of him they deserved no little Fort or Title of Honour. But, lo, the Vice of Ambition, accompanied with a Rabble of other Outrages even a reproachful End, with an everlasting mark of Infamy, which he pulls on himself with the Cords of his own Lewdness, &c.

Sir Robert Howard in his Reflections on this Reign say, that *Gaveston* when rais'd to Power, grew from all Evenness of Temper, and was as Insolent as his Fortune was great, and that the King was as Loose in a Personal Affection to him, as he was in his Publick Favours.

The Death of *Gaveston* had no Influence on the King, it only exasperated him more against the Barons, on whom he swore he would be reveng'd, and instead of changing his Methods of Government, He, in the Words of my old Author, as one



that detested the Counsel and Admonition of his Nobles, chose such to be about him, and to be of his Privy Counsel which were known to be Men of corrupt and most wicked Living.

The two *Hugh Spencers* were the main Instruments of his Mis-rule afterwards. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* at last prevail'd with him to call a Parliament, who enacted several good Laws, which the King and they swore to observe. The Ministry was chang'd, and the younger *Spencer*, who had been of the Discontented Party, after he had wrought himself into the King's good Graces grew as bad as *Garveston*, and consequently became as hateful to the Kingdom.

While things went so ill at home, it could not be expected they should flourish Abroad. *Edward* went in Person to *Paris* to preserve the Peace with the King of *France*. The Scots under *Robert Bruce* recover'd most part of *Scotland*, and in the Year 1314 routed *Edward's* Royal Army at *Banockshourn*, the greatest Defeat the *English* ever met with from that Nation. *Edward Bruce*, Brother of *Robert* invaded *Ireland*, and the Scots instead of being themselves invaded, ravag'd the Northern Counties of *England*. *Edward Bruce* prevailing so in *Ireland*, that for a while he assum'd the Title and Power of a King, but his Royalty and Life ended together in a Battel, in which Sir *John Birmingham* routed him, slew him, and sent his Head to the King.

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In the Year 1319, the *Scots* defeated the *English* at *Melton upon Swale*. The Wars occasion'd a Dearth and the Dearth a Mortality; every Enterprize of this unfortunate King miscarry'd, yet no Misfortune, no Disgrace could work any Reformation in him: He continu'd to load his Favourites, and especially the two *Spencers*, with all sorts of Honours. Their Will was his, and his the Law. The Lords look'd on his Impolitick Partiality to them with Envy and Disgust, and his Favourites were so far from endeavouring to lessen the occasions of it, that they seem'd to take a delight in triumphing over their Repentment, looking on them as a contemptible discarded, or in a more modish Phrase, a *ruin'd Party*, though it was compos'd of the greatest Men in *England*, who held their Honours and Estates in a Descent from a Race of Patriots, and having no need of using vile Means to acquire more thought of nothing but how to serve the Publick, and in that to do themselves Service, they being the most considerable Part of it.

Affairs remaining still in disorder on the side of *Scotland*, the *Spencers* busy'd themselves with nothing but how to heap up Wealth and make Purchases. One of which occasion'd great Troubles; for *William de Breause*, Lord of large Possessions in the Marches of *Wales*, being in Debt, and dispos'd to part with some of them, the Earl of *Hereford* and the two *Mortimers*,

whose Estates were contiguous, would fain have purchas'd them, but the younger *Hugh Spencer*, by the King's Solicitation with *de Breause*, carry'd them away from all these Lords, who were so disgusted; that applying themselves to the Earl of *Lancaster*, the King's *Cousin*, and complaining how every thing was engross'd at Court by the two new Favourites, that Lord and others enter'd into an Association at *Sherburn*, and swore never to lay down their Arms till all their Grievances were redress'd.

Do these Proceedings agree with our late Doctrines of Obedience without Reserve? How much should they give all True Churchmen an Abhorrence for Popery, which cou'd allow of such flagrant Disobedience as the Associating for no other Reason but because King *Edward* had not so much kindness for some of his Subjects as he had for others, and gave away profusely what he had to give to Two or Three of his Ministers and their Creatures. The Names of these Lords ought not to be forgotten, to frighten any hereafter from such unwarrantable Doings. We find among them,

The Earl of *Lancaster*,  
 The Earl of *Hereford*,  
 The Lord *De Feville*,  
 The Lord *Bernsfield*,  
 The Lord *Touchet*,  
 The Lord *Clifford*,  
 The Lords *Roger Mortimer*, Uncle  
 and Nephew, The



The Lord *Moubray*,  
 The Lord *De Sullie*,  
 The Lord *De Elmbridge*,  
 The Lord *Gifford*,  
 The Lord *Ties*.

Who I make no Question were us'd by their Adversaries just as the *Whigs* in the late Reigns, and the Jesters and Buffoons were employ'd to set them out as downright Rebels and Traytors, for that they did not Worship the Court Idols, and Sacrifice their Rights and Liberties out of Complacency to them.

As this Association had a hasty Beginning, so its End was the same; for within the Compass of a few Days, the Oath was forgotten, and most of these Barons submitted to the King, or rather to his Minions; for regardless of his own Royal Dignity, he had only the Name, while they usurp'd the Authority, and to be reveng'd on the Lords of the Association, got a Proclamation issu'd against Three of them, the Lords *Moubray*, *Clifford*, and *De Feville*, commanding them to leave the Kingdom. Such Favourites drunk with Power, find their Heads so giddy in their High Stations, that they seldom act with the Prudence necessary for their Preservation. They flatter themselves, that the Royal Favour is an Impregnable Fortress, and of a Duration next to that of Eternity. They think there will be no End to their Happy Days, and put the Evil ones

ones as far off as Death and the Grave, which Visions of theirs have been so often found to be Dreams, that I wonder how Human Reason can be so infatuated. Instead of coming to an Understanding with these Barons, the *Spencers* wou'd be satisfy'd with nothing less than driving them out of *England*, which so enrag'd them, that encreasing their Association by the Addition of the Lord *Audetie*, the Lord *Berkley*, the Lord *Marravers*, and others to their Number, they raised an Army of 1300 Horse and 10000 Foot, having the King's Banner with them, and invaded the *Spencer's* Lands in the Marches of *Wales*.

They slew Sir *John Owen* and Sir *Matthew de Gorges*, who sided with the two *Spencers*, and destroy'd twenty three of his Manors in those Parts. The Person and Authority of the King they spoke of with all due Reverence, but the Minions they did not spare; and as it was no difficult matter to form Articles against Men who took no manner of Care to prevent giving occasion of Offence, so there were enough given out by them against the *Spencers*. King *Edward* sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whose Council was very welcome to him in this Distress, with the *Ld. Badlesmere* to desire them to forbear committing any more Acts of Violence, and to refer all their Causes of Complaint to the Parliament, instead of discharging this Commission. The Lord *Badlesmere* was so fully con-

convinc'd of the Justice of the Association, that he refus'd to return with the Archbishop, bidding him tell the King, they would not lay down their Arms till the two *Spencers* were expell'd the Realm and having sufficiently wasted the Lands of those Favourites in the Marches, they did the same by their Manors in Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Surrey, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Cheshire and Warwickshire.

Thus we see what use those Ministers made of their Time: Besides twenty three Manors in the Marches of *Wales*, the best Counties in *England* are expos'd to the Outrages of Soldiers for the Share they had in them, which was so great, that the Damages of *Hugh Spencer* the Father only, amounted to near Fifty thousand Pounds, as much as Three hundred thousand now, in the destruction of his Houses and Goods, and the driving of his Cattle, &c.

All their Creatures were us'd in the like manner, and where-ever the Lords came they oblig'd the People to take their Association Oath. When they had satiated their Revenge on the Lands and Houses of the *Spencers* and those that adher'd to them, they march'd towards *London*, to be present at a Parliament summon'd to meet there in the Year 1319.



History informs us, that the Clergy as well as the Layety fell in heartily with this Association; and in almost all the Struggles of the *English* for Liberty and Property, this Justice must be done the Lords the Bishops and the inferior Clergy, that they always appear'd on the same side with their Country, even in Times of Popish Darkness; but the great Light of the Reformation so dazled some of them afterwards, that instead of asserting the Laws when they have been invaded, a new Doctrine was started, that to *save the World we must not resist*, as Pious Bishop *Saunderson* has been pleas'd to instruct us. Whereas in this Association, which look'd very much like *Resistance*, no fewer than five Bishops at once were sent by the Lords of it to the King with their humble Petition, and such a Petition that had not a Word of Humility in it but in the Title: For a certain old fashion'd Author writes thus of it, *At their coming to St Albans, they sent the Bishops of London, Salisbury, Ely, Hereford and Chichester to the King with their humble Suit in outward Appearance, tho' in effect and very deed, more presumptuous than was requisite.*

The main Purport of their Petition was to banish the *Spencers* from his Council and Presence, and to grant an Act of Indemnity; neither of which would King *Edward* consent to, till the Lords came with their Powers to *London*, where, in the Parliament

ment then holden, they constrain'd the Earl of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Arundel*, Earl *Warren*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* to joyn with them, and carry'd a Decree of Banishment against the *Spencers* to the King, who was forc'd to consent to it, and the E. of *Hereford*, together with the other Lords on their Knees, besought a Pardon for what was past, which was establish'd by an Act. Thus in Appearance was the Quarrel made up, but King *Edward*, who did all this by Constraint, resolv'd on the first occasion to undo it. His Minion the younger *Spencer* had been sent Ambassador to *France*, it being observable, that the *French* have been most dear Friends to the *English*, when the *English* have been Enemies to themselves.

During most Part of this unhappy Reign, there was a wonderful Endearment between the Courts of *England* and *France*; and it is no strange thing that Affairs shou'd not prosper in Times when the *French* had an Influence over our Councils.

King *Edward* was so far from intending to perform what he had promis'd, with respect to the *Spencers*, that he met the Younger at his return from *France* in the Island of *Thanet*, staid there several Days conferring with him on the present Juncture of their Affairs. The Queen came to *Canterbury* with the King under Pretence of visiting the Shrine of the Arch Traytor *Becket*. When the King was at *Thanet* he committed *Hugh Spencer* the  
D Younger

Younger to the keeping of the Mariners of the *Cinque Ports*, and after that sail'd to *Portsmouth*, whence he intended to return to *London*, but was diverted by an Accident which reviv'd the Rupture between him and the Barons.

It has been already said, that the Lord *Badlesmere* had deserted the King's Party and associated with the Lords, the Castle of *Leeds* in *Kent* was his, and when he took up Arms he left his Wife, Children and Treasure there. The unsettled State of the Kingdom had kept him still from Home, when the Queen in her Return from *Canterbury* came to that Castle, those within would not admit her to lodge there, without express Orders of their Master, and she so highly resented this Affront, that she instigated her Husband to lay Siege to it, which he did with a good Army.

The Lord *Badlesmere*, accompany'd with the Earl of *Hereford* and other Barons, hasten'd to its Relief, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *London*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* were sent to him by them, requiring him, says my Author, to remove the Siege, till by Parliament some Order might be taken. The King, glad of this Opportunity to break with them, wou'd not raise it, especially finding himself strong enough to master the Place before help could come. The Barons, dishearten'd by King *Edward's* Resolution, did not proceed in this Enterprize and the Castle was taken



taken, Thirteen of the Lord *Badlesmere's* Friends and Servants were hang'd; among these was *Walter Colepepper*, of whose Name are several good Families now extant in the same County.

The King took other Castles of the Lord *Badlesmere* and his Friends, whom he imprison'd as fast as he got them in his Power, and by this little Success was so animated, that he resolv'd to Levy a Royal Army, and assign'd *Cirencester* for the Place of its Rendezvous.

In the mean while he went to *London*, where Matters had soon a new Face: Several great Lords left the Barons, as the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Arundel*, and the Archbishop held a Convocation, wherein the Decree against the *Spencers*, who were now come again to Court, was declar'd to be Null, and the King's Brother, *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, demanded it should be repeal'd, while *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, his Cousin, demanded a Confirmation of the Decree, and all the other Acts of the last Parliament.

It is worthy Observation, that the Lawyers being consulted at the Convocation, declar'd, that the Decree was illegal, so sure are that Party of their Opinions who have Fortune on their side, and so lovingly do Power and Law go together. The Decree being formerly repeal'd, the King wrote to the Earl of *Lancaster* to submit, and omitted neither Threats and Promises; but he stood firm to the Barons.

It must not be forgotten, that even the Two *Spencers* were in the same Interest when the Lords stir'd in the Business of *Gaveston*, and had their Employments by their Recommendation; but the sweets of them made 'em think of the most likely Means to keep them, which was to Humour a Prince, who, when humour'd, did not care how little Authority he had himself, nor how much his Favourites. As the Lords had Deserters from the King's Party to thers, so had the King, and particularly the Lord *St. John*, who had been so notorious a Malecontent, that History tells us 'twas with much ado that he was Pardon'd.

The King preparing to meet his Army at *Cirencester*, the Earl of *Hereford*, the Lord *Roger Mortimer of Cherke*, and the Lord *Roger Mortimer of Wigmore* took the City of *Gloucester*, and the Lord *Ties* dispers'd such as were assembling for the King in those Parts: But King *Edward's* Army grew daily more Powerful; the Earls of *Norfolk*, *Surry*, *Pembroke*, and other great Lords, joyn'd him with their Strength, and Moderation was no more talk'd of. The Lord *Audly* and the Lord *Hastings* submitting themselves were imprison'd, The King coming to *Worcester* order'd it to be fortify'd; but as soon as he left the Place, the Lord *Roger Damorie* enter'd it, and demolish'd the new Fortifications. The *Scotch* and *Welsh* during these Commotions, made some petty Incursions

curfions, which the Historians of length will be fure to remember.

The chief Earl of the Kingdom in thofe Days was *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaster*, Son of *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster*, Brother to *Edward* the Firft. This Earl *Thomas* having great Riches and being full enough of his High Birth, lik'd very well the Homage that was paid him by the Barons, tho' he was for fome time cautious of taking Arms. At laft when it was become a General Quarrel, and the King was in a fair way to fuppreff the Lords, the Confequence of which wou'd probably be the Lofs of the *Engliſh* Liberties, this Prince declar'd himfelf the Head of the Barons League.

The Infolence of Favourites in ill Reigns has been generally the caufe of their own and their Maſter's Ruin. Their Heads are not ftrong enough to bear the Height of their Fortune, and they look down with fo much Contempt on the greateſt and beſt of their Fellow Subjects, that they think there's no Treatment fo baſe but what is Juſtifiable in them. A preſent Gale of Succeſs flatters them with the Hopes of Fair Weather ſtill, and there's nothing that offers to them to put 'em in mind of a Storm. Durſt the Minions of this King have dar'd elſe to Affront this Earl, a Prince of the Blood, as they did, and by juſtly provoking him in private Injuries, arm him againſt them for thoſe of the Publick. Theſe Favourites put  
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one *Richard St Martyn* upon claiming the Earl's Wife. declaring he had formerly lain with her. She was Heiress to the two Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*, and the Design was to Affront the Earl of *Lancaster*, as well in the diminution of his Honour as in the Insult on his Bed. *Sir Robert Howard* tells us why it was that the Minions protected such an inconsiderable Fellow in so daring an Affront, to a Person of the Earl's Rank. *who being*, says he, *related to the King, might perhaps be an Obstacle to those Designs which were contriving by the New Favourites, and 'twas an improper Consideration for such to consider whether the King's Interest and Honour were best serv'd by this, but only whether their own Designs were not best persu'd.* What signify the Reputation of their Sovereign and the Welfare of the Nation? They must at all Ventures keep their Places, for without them they could not keep their Power, which put into other Hands that wou'd make use of it in the Defence of the Laws, they knew there wou'd be but a few Hours between them and Destruction.

The Honourable Author last mention'd has these Reflections on this Head: *It seems strange, that Unsteadiness and Injustice, two of the weakest Errors of Mankind, should become Rules of Power to act by; which cou'd hardly be possible, were they not resig'd to the Counsels of others, and consequently to their Interests, who cannot by National Methods pursue their Ambitious Designs, and protect what*  
they

they obtain. The pursuits of Honour and Riches are seldom limited, and putting a distance between King and People, is the only means to keep them Remote from Examination and Justice, and at last they involve their Interest so with His, that to question them is to attack his Dignity.

The Earl of Lancaster being thus doubly provok'd, came to a Resolution to do Justice to himself and his Country. He invited the Earl of Hereford to meet him with the other Lords and all their Forces at Pomfret. The Earl upon this left Gloucester, and march'd through the middle of the Kingdom, spoiling the Lands of their Enemies in his way, till he came to Pomfret.

The King when he was gone, possess'd himself of Hereford, Gloucester, and the Castles in thole and the Neighbouring Counties belonging to the Barons. The Bishop of Hereford, Adam Tarlton, was one of the most Inveterate Enemies of the Favourites; and when King Edward came to that City, the Bishop was severely reprimanded by him, and the Sheriff of the County hang'd for siding with the Barons. The Lord Maurice Berkley made his Submission to the King at Gloucester, and all those Parts were almost entirely reduc'd, which was as great an Accession of Strength to the King's Party, as it was a Diminution to the Barons, who had been Masters of that Corner of the Kingdom ever since the Defection of the Mortimers.

The Lords had drawn all their Forces together in the North, and seem'd determin'd to decide their Dispute by a general Battel. The King's Army being superior to the Barons, the same Disposition appear'd in his Followers, and King Edward bent his march Northwards for that purpose. The Earls of *Lancaster*, *Hereford*, and the Barons, fortify'd the Bridge of *Burton* upon *Trent*, and a sharp Action happen'd there; but the King's Forces outnumbering those of the Lords, another Pass was made use of, and the latter setting Fire to the Town, retir'd with Precipitation towards *Yorkshire*.

This was a Terrible Blow to the Barons, and a mighty Advantage to the King: Let us see therefore what use the Minions made of their Victory, and we shall find it very like the Consequence of King *James's* at *Sedgemoor* follow'd by *Jesfery's Western Campaign*. In a word, such as all ill Ministers who have the Ruin of their Country in View, will make of the Power they have over those that wou'd save it. Immediately were these Lords, and all their Adherents, proclaim'd Rebels and Traitors, and Writs were issu'd to the Sheriffs of *Darbyshire* and *Nottinghamshire*, to pursue

The Earl of *Lancaster*,  
The Earl of *Hereford*,  
The Lord *Roger Damorie*,  
The younger Lord *Audly*,

The



The Lord Mowbray,  
 The Lord Badlesmere,  
 The Lord Clifford,  
 The Lord Gifford,  
 The Lord Treis.

As such, *Hue and Cry* to the same purpose was also dispers'd, and the same Writs and *Hue and Cry* sent likewise to the Bishop of *Durham*, the chief Justice of *Chester*, and the Sheriffs and Justices of the Marches of *Wales* against the Lords and their Adherents; it being a Practice of all such Imperious Favourites to scorn Methods of Reconciliation, and to destroy, Root and Branch, all that dare stand in Opposition to them. The Rout at *Burton*, and the Terror of a Prosecution so frighted many of the Barons Followers, that they submitted to the King, as Sir *Gilbert de Gilesfield*, Sir *Robert Holland*, and others, which Defection made the Earls of *Lancaster*, *Hereford* and the Barons, resolve to retire with their remaining Forces to *Dunstanborough* Castle, and then to send Deputies to the King to sue for a Pardon; but as they were on their way to this Castle, Sir *Andrew de Herkley*, Sheriff of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, with the Militia of those Counties, surpriz'd them at *Borough Bridge*, laid an Ambuscade which attack'd and defeated them. The Earl of *Hereford* fell in the Battel, one of the most Potent Barons this Nation ever knew; with him

fell also the Lord *Sullie* and Sir *Roger de Bourgfeld*, Names that are lost in our Modern Histories; but make an agreeable Figure in our Ancient, to those that have a value for Courage or Liberty : For this Reason I cannot think the following List of the Noble Prisoners that were taken in this Battel the 15th of *March* 1322. will be thought tedious to all good *Englishmen*, and the Noblest Families in *England* will there find their Ancestors with their Swords drawn, in a Quarrel which will always be glorious when the Laws and Liberties of our Country are at the Mercy of Cruel and Ambitious Men. Besides *Thomas Earl of Lancaster*, Grandson to King *John*, were taken,

The Lord *Talbot*,  
 The Lord *Darcy*,  
 The Lord *Clifford*,  
 The Lord *Lovel*,  
 The Lord *Fitz Williams*,  
 The Lord *Mowbray*,  
 The Lord *Willington*,  
 The Lord *Manduit*,  
 The Lord *de Lisle*,  
 The Lord *Wither*,  
 The Lord *Knovill*,  
 The Lord *de Beche*,  
 The Lord *de Leibourne*.

And several other Persons of Quality, whose Descendants still flourish in the Northern Counties, as *John de Strickland*,  
*Odel*

*Odnel Heron, Robert de Waterville, Walter Pa-  
velie, &c.*

I confess I am my self touch'd with the Names of so many Illustrious Barons at that Time, in the last Degree of Misery, for their Hatred to Ill Men and their Love to the Publick. I sympathize with them in their Chains, and tremble at the very Thoughts of the Usage they are to expect from Inexorable and Bloody Enemies.

The Lord *Ticis*, a very Zealous Baron, and Sir *John de Goldington* were taken by the Lord *Henry Piercy*, and a few Days after were also taken the Lord *de Badlesmere*, the Younger Lord *Audley*, the Lord *Gifford*, the Lord *Touchet*, and almost all the Persons of Quality that had been engag'd in this unfortunate Attempt.

Never were the Laws of *England* so likely to be bury'd for ever in the King's Will and Pleasure; never was the Authority of Minions so establish'd: The Field is clear to them; hardly an Enemy of Note left in Arms. Castles are crowded with Prisoners, and the Estates of the greatest Barons of *England* at the Mercy of Insatiable Courtiers. What Hopes cou'd our honest *English-men* then have? The King however he might be inclin'd himself, is in the Hands of his Favourites: His Favourites are flush'd with Conquest, and sharpen'd by Opposition: Where is there a Beam of Light in this Gloom? Is it not all Impotent De-



spair? But as the maintaining the Law is the cause of Justice, and Justice the cause of Heaven, Heaven will raise Hope in this Despair, and give Light to this Darkness.

Sir *Andrew de Herkley* brought his Prisoners to *Pomfret*, and with them the Earl of *Lancaster*, the Son of the King's Unkle, who, if what *Henry IV* pretended afterwards was true, had the Divine Right to the Crown, it being affirm'd, that *Edmund* the Father of the Earl was the Elder Brother to *Edward I.* this King's Father, set aside for his Deformity. The Tongues of these successful Minions were as sharp as their Swords, and this brave Prince was forc'd to bear all the Insolence of the prevailing Upstarts, who, in Mockery and Scorn, call'd him King *Arthur*.

On the 22d of *March 1322*, this Earl, the King's Cousin German, whose Guilt was his Hatred to Evil Counsellors and Tyranical Ministers, was brought to his Tryal before the King's Brother,

*Edmund* Earl of *Kent*,  
*John* Earl of *Richmand*,  
*Aimer* Earl of *Pembroke*,  
*John* Earl of *Surrey*,  
*Edmund* Earl of *Arundel*,  
*David* Earl of *Athol*,  
*Robert* Earl of *Angus*,  
The Lord *Hugh Spencer*, the Father,  
The Lord *Robert de Malmesherp*, Justice, and others.

The

The Treasons laid to his Charge was the Fight at *Burton upon Trent*, his setting Fire to the Town, and the Battel of *Burrough Bridge*, for which he was condemn'd to be Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd; but being the Queen's Uncle and Son to the King's Uncle, he had the favour to have his Head cut off.

Thus fell the Great Earl of *Lancaster, Lincoln, Salisbury, Leicester and Derby*, the most Powerful Lord in *England*, a Sacrifice to the Vengeance of the King's Arbitrary Minions. Such Men will ever delight in Blood, and knowing what they merit when Justice is impartially distributed, will be sure to prevent their Enemies in this manner as often as it is in their Power; the first Blood of this Nature that was ever Shed since the Conquest.

The People who lov'd this Earl as well as he lov'd his Country, crouded to his Tomb, as to the Shrine of a Martyr, as indeed he was to Liberty, and shov'd it such Devotion, that the Courtiers taking Offence at it as a Reflection on their Cruelty and Justice, got a Guard to be set on on it to hinder access to it. The same Day

The

The Lord William Touchet,

Lord William Fitz Williams,

Lord Warren de Lisle,

Lord Henry Bradborne,

Lord William Cheney,

And

John Page Esquire,

Were Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd at  
Pomfret; and soon after

Roger Lord Clifford,

John Lord Mowbray,

And

Sir Gosein de Eeville,

Were Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd at  
York.

Sir Henry de Wellington,

Sir Henry Montfort,

At Bristol.

Lord John Gifford,

Sir William Elmehridge,

At Gloucester.

Lord Henry Tieis at London,

Sir Thomas Colepepper at Winchelsea:

Lord de Aldham at Windsor.

Lord



Lord Bartholomew de Badlesmere,  
 Lord Bartholomew de Ashburnham,  
 At Canterbury.

Sir William Fleming at Cardiffe.

Sir Thomas Manduit and others, in  
 other Places.

Let not the Noble Families of the  
 Touchers, the Eitz Williams, the Cheneys,  
 the Cliffords, the Colepeppers, the Ashburn-  
 hams, the Flemings, still flourishing, be a-  
 sham'd to see their Ancestors in the List  
 of those who fell in the Cause of Liberty,  
 and by the Rage of Men in Favour with  
 a Prince who would have set up a Govern-  
 ment by his and his Minister's Pleasure.  
 Let them not be offended that they are  
 found in Arms against the Doctrine of  
*Passive Obedience* and *Non Resistance*: For as  
 to obey good Princes Passively is our Du-  
 ty, so certain in the Reign of bad Ones our  
 Obedience is due to the Laws and not to  
 their Will. This was the Principle and  
 Practice of their Ancestors, and not the  
 barbarous and bloody Insolence of Court  
 Minions in putting so many Illustrious  
 Lords to an infamous Death, could deter  
 others from pursuing and revenging their  
 Quarrel.

The

The Favourites did not only attack the Person of the Earl of *Lancaster*; they endeavour'd to murder his Reputation, Scandal being always the Resource of such whom nothing true can be said of, but what is scandalous: For while it was a Doubt with all good *Englishmen* whether the Earl for his Charity and Love of Holy Men and Zeal for the Publick Good ought not to be deem'd a Saint, the Faction of the Favourites represented him as an *Adulterer, a Murderer, a Free-Thinker. He maintain'd, say they in the old Chronicle, Apostates and Evil Doers, was a Prodigal and a Coward*. But the People gave no heed to their Calumnies, the *English* were plain Hearted and Honest, Tricks and Lyes could not corrupt them; they had so good an Opinion of this Patriot, they croud'd to his Grave with Offerings, in-somuch, that the younger *Spencer* plac'd a Guard of *Frenchmen* on the Hill, where he suffer'd *That none, to use the very Words of the Chronicler, should come and make their Prayers there in Worship of the said Earl, whom they took verily for a Martyr.*

The Estates of these Lords gave a grateful Relish to the Minions Vengeance, and Sir *Robert Howard*'s Reflections upon it cannot but be entertaining to the Reader. *Their Estates and Inheritances were seiz'd and were us'd to advance a new sort of Men, who must needs applaud and flatter such Counsels and Successes that had been so favourable*

to them; and unquestionably the Streams of Flattery flow'd to the King for his Choice of such a Favourite as Spencer, who had now enthron'd him once again, and by so much Blood procur'd him the Surest Coronation. Nor was Spencer less blind in the Judgment of his own Condition, who was now Master of his King, and of all those Spoils that this Bloody Success had thrown into his Ambitious Arms. But his Condition was too prosperous temperately to consider the Uncertainty of a violent Prosperity, watch'd by the unweary'd Searches of Revenge, &c.

The Barons being thus effectually reduc'd the Prosperous Party in Triumph over the Ruin'd One got a Parliament to their Mind, by whom all the Proceedings against the Favourites were abrogated, and the Estates of all who had sided with their Adversaries confiscated. The Lord Hugh Spencer, the Father, was made Earl of Winchester, and Sir Andrew de Herckley Earl of Carlisle.

About this time also was Robert Baldock a Man evil beloved in the Realm, made Lord Chancellor: He was a Creature of the Spencers, as was also Simon Reding, who by their means were in special Favour with King Edward, which none could acquire that did not come in by the Interest of the Favourites. I wonder at nothing more in this Story than to find the Earl of Arundel, a Lord of an Ancient Family and vast Fortune, to side with the Minions, Persons so much below him in all Re-



speaks; but there was no other way for him to have a share in the Ministry, and rather than be excluded, he car'd not what Company he kept, such are the Accurs'd Effects of Ambition, it sets the Noble and the Ignoble on a Level, and provided some Men can make Slaves of others, they will not refuse to be themselves Slaves to the Men they scorn. I am not surpriz'd, that after such a Victory the King's Commandment made Statutes. *He commanded, says my Historian, the Ordinances should be called Statutes.* 'Twill be always so when Liberty is subjected by Arms, and the *Law* itself is become *Sedition*. It was not enough after this for the Lords to have serv'd the King with their Persons, if their Wills were but suspected, if any of those that had oppos'd the Barons did not go all the lengths of the Courtiers, they might as well have joyn'd with their Opposites: For this Reason was *Aymer* Earl of *Pembroke*, who was not for giving the *English* Liberties up entirely apprehended as a Favourer of the Baron's Cause, and had he not bought off the Favourite's Displeasure, the Suspicion of it would have cost him his Head.

The *Spencers* were grown now so rampant, that they despis'd the Queen herself for giving good and faithful Counsel. As every thing went to wreck under this hated Ministry, so it tempted the Enemy Abroad to improve the Occasion. The *Scots* invaded *England*, making an Incursion

curfion as far as *Preston* in *Lancashire*, which Town they burnt. The *French* too, as good Friends as these Ministers were to them, could not forbear making an Irruption into *Aquitain*, for we may be sure when Affairs go ill at Home, they will never thrive Abroad. The King and his Ministers, who by no means *delighted in War*, were in a sad Confusion, a sorry Army was got together, while the *Scots* in a second Invasion ravag'd the Northern Counties. They had like to have taken the King's Person as he was at Dinner at the Abbey of *Beighland*.

There were still several Barons in Prison on account of the late Commotions, as the Lord *Maurice Berkley*, and the Lord *Hugh Audley*, to release whom Sir *John de Goldington*, Sir *Edmund de Bech*, and *Roger Walton Esq*; made an Attempt on the Castle of *Wallingford*, but were prevented by the coming of the Earls of *Kent* and *Winchester* with great Forces, the Townsmen of *Wallingford* being also against him.

These three Gentlemen falling into the Hands of the Two Earls, were sent to *Pomfret*, and Mr *Walton* from thence to *Tork*, where he was hang'd.

The next Execution of any Note was that of *Andrew de Herkley*, Earl of *Carlisle*, the same who took the Earl of *Lancaster*, and for that Service had an Earldom given him. This Man was hated by the People, and tho' before the Action at *Burrough Bridge* he was in high Reputa-

tion for his Courage and Interest in the North, his taking so many Barons render'd him Odious to all true *Englishmen*, who rejoyc'd to see the Time come that he was to account himself for his Treasons.

This Man finding the *Scots* continually wasted the Borders, undertook, of his own Head, to make a Peace with King *Robert Bruce* without any Warrant from the King, who having Information of it, and of *Herkley's* entring into a League with *Bruce* for the maintaining of that Peace, the Lord *Anthony Lucy* was order'd to apprehend the Earl of *Carlisle*, which he did, assisted by Sir *Hugh Lowther*, Sir *Richard Denton*, and other Gentlemen. When he was taken, the Lord *Jeffery Scroope*, Chief Justice, went to *Carlisle* Castle to try him, and being found Guilty of that Treasonable Treaty of Peace, he was Condemn'd to be hang'd. He stood in it to the last, that his Intention in concluding an Agreement with the *Scots* King was good, and for the Advantage of the Kingdom. But the Peace was a scandalous One, and he that made it dy'd the Death of a Traytor.

Sir *Robert Howard* tells us, that it was not so much for his treating with the *Scots*, as for his growing great enough to give Apprehension to the *Spencers*, that he lost his new enjoy'd Honours together with his Life: So that, says he, the King seem'd at one time ready to destroy and to revenge Destruction, just as the Displeasure



fore and Spectle of his Ambitious Foyowriter  
guided him. *Midder A en amlogowal Mid*

King Edward thought fit to send Ambassadors to Newcastle to meet others from the Scots King. His Minion, the younger Spencer, was one of his Plenipotentiaries, and the Earl of Pembroke the other. The Scots concluded a Truce for 13 Years, but a Peace could not be accomplish'd.

The French King finding King Edward's Affairs were so embroil'd at Home, took hold of that Opportunity to perplex and ruin them Abroad, and under Pretence of his Failure in paying him Homage for his Territories in France that were subject to it, he invaded Aquitain, and took several Towns. King Edward wrote to the Duke of Bretagne, the King of Castille, the King of Arragon, the Count of Biscay, and other Princes for Help; but no body car'd to have any thing to do with him. They did not like the Hands he was in, and left him to his Ill Ministers and Fortune.

In the mean time Care enough was taken to be reveng'd on all that had taken Part with the Barons; the Lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore got out of the Tower, where he was a Prisoner, and fled to France. The Bishop of Hereford was apprehended for aiding and abetting this Mortimer, and his Uncle the Lord Roger Mortimer of Cherke. The Courtiers wou'd fain have had him try'd for High Treason, but he stood upon his Priviledge, and refused.

fus'd to Answer without the Consent of his Metropolitan the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and his Peers. The King commanded him to be brought before him in Person, upon which the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, *York* and *Dublin*, and Ten other Bishops, came with their Crofiers before them, took away their Brother of *Hereford*, and forbad all Men to lay Hands upon him on pain of Excommunication; notwithstanding which the King seiz'd his Estate, and destroy'd his Mannors and Houses.

It is very well worth our Observation, that the Clergy were in those Days on the side of Liberty: Did any of those Bishops who oppos'd the King in Person, ever Preach up *Passive Obedience*? How comes it to pass that the *Papish* Clergy shou'd be better *Englishmen* than the pretended Protestant Priesthood of the same Stamp as the *Condemn'd Doctor*? If such Men were not Insensible of Shame, they wou'd blush to read of so many Bishops with their Crofiers advanc'd resisting the Will of the Prince, while they are slavishly setting up an Authority which is only the Prerogative of God, and the Law to whom an Obedience without Reserve is only due.

The next remarkable Event is an Embassy sent by King *Edward* to the *French* King to sue for a Peace. These Ambassadors were the Lord *Sullie* and Mr *John de Shoreditch*. The former having given  
some

some Offence to the King of *France*, he broke the Laws of Nations that hold the Persons of Ambassadors to be Sacred, and wou'd have cut off his Head, had not his Life been spar'd at the Intercession of the Queen of *France*. However, so far was King *Edward* from resenting this Affront, that he sent over a more splendid Embassy, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Norwich*, and the Earl of *Richmond*, to endeavour to come to an Agreement; for there was nothing so terrible to his Ministers as the Thoughts of a War. They knew a War with *France* would oblige the King to comply with the People's Desires, and redress their Grievances, otherwise he cou'd have no Supplies to carry it on. They knew they were themselves the greatest Grievances, and that if a War was to be commenc'd, Men of Honour and Merit must be employ'd, and consequently they must be outed of all their Places; for no Men of Merit and Honour wou'd serve in such Company. How indeed was it possible for a War to be carry'd on Abroad with any Success, when every thing at Home ran thus to Wreck, thro' the Insolence and Avarice of the Minions, who abus'd the King's Goodness. When therefore these Ambassadors cou'd not procure a Peace, they sent the Queen and Prince *Edward* her Son over to *France*, in hopes her Majesty wou'd bring her Brother the *French* King into a better Humour with the *English*.

The



The Queen Highly resenting as she did the two *Spencers* haughty Carriage towards her, and their alienating her Husband's Affections, it was thought strange that the Minions would suffer her to go to her Brother on such an Errand, for fear she might engage him in her Interest against them. Upon which Sir Robert makes these Reflections: Such Men so constantly guided by pleasing Weaknesses, might not perhaps discover the Queen might be a dangerous Instrument so employ, that had been so disoblige'd. But commonly those that do Injuries, are the least Apprehensive that they will be remember'd, or commonly having no fear of those they oppress, they never consider the future Possibility of Revenge: But if they had apprehended Damage to themselves in the Queen's going, yet they chose the least Evil, nothing appearing so terrible as parting with the King.

Accordingly the King of France agreed to restore what he had taken from them, on Condition King Edward made over his Dominions on the Continent to Prince Edward, which was done, and he did Homage for them to his Uncle. The Earl of Kent was at that Time Governor of *Aquitain*, and the Lord Cromwell attended the Queen in her Voyage. There were then several English Lords in France, who had either been sent on Embassies or fled thither from the Rage of the Favourites, or come from *Aquitain* to make their Court to the Queen of England.

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brightest of all Virtues, and there never was a Virtuous Man that made an ill Minister. How daring were these Minions to insult thus the next Heir to the Crown, did they think *Edward* was Immortal? What could they expect from the Son after such Usage but Axes and Halts? 'Tis strange, that Men of Foresight should be so blind to their own Interest: But the truth is when People are once imbarck'd in desperate Measures, they must go thorough their Work with them, and let their Actions be all of a Piece. If a Man has deserv'd the Gallows for one Crime, he thinks he can do no more for twenty. 'Tis upon this Foot such Politicians act, and we shall see presently what is the end of their Politicks.

During these Transactions, several Persons of Condition found means to get to the Queen in *France*, Sir Robert Walkfare a great Friend of the Earl of *Hereford*, Chief of the Barons, next to the Earl of *Lancaster*, kill'd the Constable of *Corse-Castle*, where he had been confin'd since they were dispers'd, and made his escape to *France*, where the Bishop of *Exeter*, who attended the Queen, discover'd the Counsels of her Friends, hasten'd to *England* and reveal'd 'em all to the Favourites. This Bishop was made Lord Treasurer, and having acted so base a Part, he engag'd deeply in all their Intrigues, and had at last the same Fate with the rest of them.

The



The King and his Minions to deter the *French* from giving any Incouragement or Assistance to the Queen and her Sons, order'd the *English* Cruisers to take all the *French* Ships they met with; but the *Spencers* took a surer Method to prevail on the King of *France* to abandon his Sister, which was, to bribe his Ministers. They knew what was the best way to work on King *Edward*, and practis'd it themselves on the *French* King. This Project succeeded, and the Queen of *England* soon found her Brother's Favour to her turn'd into Neglect, which threw her into Despair, till she was encourag'd to pursue her Design by the Lord *John de Beaumont*, Brother to the Count of *Hainault*, who promis'd her that Count's Assistance, the Count d' *Artois* joining with the Lord *Beaumont* in these Assurances, and the Queen having Intelligence that there was a Conspiracy on foot to murder her Son, she retir'd with him from the *French* Court, and was receiv'd by the Count of *Hainault* to her very great Satisfaction. Thither the Malecontent Lords and Gentlemen repair'd to her from *France*, and King *Edward's* Ministers were in as terrible a Fright as ever.

Great Preparations did they make to defend themselves against the Invasion they were affraid of; but what signify Preparations of Defence to such, as every good *Englishman* were ready to fall upon? Their Musters and Beacons were of no

more Service to the Favourites of King *Edward*, than King *James's* Army of 30000 Men were to his. They may be flatter'd by others, and flatter themselves as much as they please with their Power and Interest, Justice and Liberty will always find Friends.

The Queen trusting to the Goodness of her Cause, and the Disposition of the People of *England*, took with her about 3000 Foreigners, and landed at *Orwell* near *Harmich* on the 25th of *Sept.* 1326. having in her Company Prince *Edward*, the Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Roger Mortimer* and other *English* Lords and Gentlemen. She no sooner was landed, than the Country crowded in to her, and the Barons appear'd to give them Countenance, as the Earl Marshal, the Earl of *Leicester*, who join'd her almost as soon as she came Ashoar, and were follow'd in a few Days by the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Dublin* and *Ely*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* and others, who did not go to her in Person, sent her Money.

Thus did this bold Princess undertake the Delivery of the Kingdom from the Tyranny of a lewd Insolent Ministry. When the King and his Ministers heard of her landing, he sent to the *Londoners* to assist him, but they, notwithstanding the Lord Mayor was a Tool of the Ministers, answer'd, They would do all the Honour they ought to the King, the Queen and to their Son, the lawful Heir of the Land, but as for Tray-

riors to the Realm, they would keep them out of their Gates. The Citizens of London are the most concern'd of any part of the Nation in the Preservation of Liberty, as they have most of the Property, and Property without Liberty is no more a Blessing than Riches without Health. They must go both together to render them both Valuable, which has always been the Sentiments of the Londoners, though now and then a Buly Man has gone a great way in corrupting them. They have, however, soon return'd to their Senses, and those that endeavour'd to deceive them, have dearly paid for it.

No People in the World are so soon frightened as bad Princes and their Favourites, and it was thus with King Edward and his, upon the refusal of the Citizens to joyn with them. The King and the younger Spencer, then Earl of Gloucester, fled towards Wales, having first proclaim'd all that landed or join'd with the Queen Traytors, except herself, the Prince and his Brother the Earl of Kent. He also set a Price of a thousand Marks on the Lord Roger Mortimer's Head. The Queen on her side put forth her Declaration promising her Protection to all that should behave themselves Peaceably, except the Spencers, Robert Baldock the Chancellor and their Adherents, she in like manner set a Price upon the Head of the younger Spencer.



The King appointed the Bishop of Exeter to govern at London in his Absence. The Queen wrote to the Citizens to assist her in her Undertaking for the Welfare of the Kingdom: The Mayor did what he could to hinder the Publication of this Letter, but the Queen's Friends nail'd Copies of it on the Cross in *Cheapside*, where the Conduit now is, on the Doors and Windows of other remarkable Places in the City, and on the Mayor's Gates, whom they forc'd to take an Oath to stand to their Ordinances. There was in the City a forward Fellow, *John Marshal*, who was very familiar with the Earl of Gloucester, and had had a great Stroke in the Management of the City Affairs for the Ministers. To this Man's House the Mob ran immediately, struck off his Head and plunder'd the House. They swore to each other to put to Death all the Queen's Enemies. Accordingly they set Fire to the Bishop of Exeter's Gates, broke open his Pallace, and took all they found as Prize: They also seiz'd his Person, carry'd him to *Cheapside*, proclaim'd him Traytor, stript him and cut off his Head. They compell'd Sir *John Weston* Constable of the Tower, to give 'em the Keys of it, which when they had they set all the Prisoners that were confin'd there at Liberty, and the same was done all over the Kingdom.

The *Londoners* being Masters of the Tower, they turn'd out all the Officers and put others in their Rooms, in the Name  
of

of the King's younger Son the Lord *John de Eltham*, whom they nominated Warden of the City and Kingdom. The Mischiefs of such riotous Insurrections whatever Pretence of Liberty may be made use of, are alike fatal to all Parties; for when the Multitude is got together, they who rais'd cannot quell them, and no body knows where their Madness will end.

The Mob after they had satisfy'd their Revenge on the Persons of the Offenders, fell on their Friends, Goods and Houses, in which Outrage those who wish'd the Queen and her Cause well, did not escape entirely free from Damage.

The King during these Tumults remain'd at *Bristol*, which City he left to the keeping of the Earl of *Winchester*, and accompany'd by the Earls of *Gloucester* and *Arundel*, and Sir *Robert Baldock*, Lord Chancellor, he went by Sea to *Wales*, hoping the *Welshmen* would rise in his Defence, he having been very kind to them, looking upon himself as their Countryman. Besides, he thought he might from thence easily get into *Ireland*, if his Wife and the Prince his Son shou'd Master the whole Kingdom, as it was likely they wou'd, the Defection from King *Edward* being almost General, as surely it will always be, when a Nation has groan'd so many Years under the Oppression of Favourites and Minions. The Queen hearing her Husband was gone Westward, and that  
the

the *Londoners* had declar'd for her, hasten'd after him, the People continuing to joyn her from all Quarters.

At *Oxford* the Bishop of *Hereford* made a Pathetick Speech to the Army, setting forth the Queen's glorious Designs for their Deliverance, and animating them in the Prosecuting it; which Speech had it been preserv'd entire, wou'd have serv'd excellently well for an Answer to all the Sermons of some of the Inferior Clergy, in behalf of *Passive Obedience* and *Non Resistance*.

From *Oxford* the Queen march'd to *Gloucester*, and from thence sent the Earl of *Kent* and Sir *John Henneque* to *Bristol*, to take the Earl of *Winchester*. The Citizens wou'd not venture their Lives for a Person who had so little deserv'd their Assistance, and on Promise of being receiv'd into the Queen and Prince's Protection, they deliver'd the City and Castle to the Earl of *Kent*, who by this means took the Father of the Favourite Minister, himself also a Favourite, the Elder *Hugh Spencer*, Earl of *Winchester*, into his Custody. Justice, as slow as it proceeds, strikes sure at last, and the Vengeance that lights on the Heads of ill Ministers is the more terrible, for that it is ever unpity'd. At *Gloucester* many Lords and Gentlemen came to the Queen, who had now almost all the Kingdom under her and her Son's Obedience. The Lord *Piercy*, the Lord *Wake*, and other Persons of Quality; submitted



mitted to her there. From that City she proceeded to *Bristol*, taking *Berkley* Castle in her way, which she restor'd to the Lord *Thomas Berkeley*, Son of the Lord *Maurice Berkeley*. This Estate had been granted away to the younger *Spencer*, who certainly wanted not for Grants, when the King gave away nothing without him. It is still in the Possession of the same Noble Family, in the Person of their Descendant the Earl of *Berkeley*.

When the Queen came to *Bristol*, she was forc'd to comply with the Clamours of the People for Justice on the Earl of *Winchester*, who was drawn along in his Armour to the Common Gallows, and there hang'd. His Head was cut off and sent to *Winchester*. Thus, says Sir *Robert Howard*, was *Spencer* taken and executed, with all the Rigour that Revenge and Conquest could invent, and with as much Contempt of Law as he and his Son had formerly shew'd.

The King all the while skulkt from one Place to another, deserted by his Domestic Servants, among whom were Sir *Thomas Blunt*, who carry'd off with him his Provisions, Horses and Arms. The Earl of *Gloucester* kept close to him, and there being no Hope of Safety left in *England* or *Wales*, they took Boat intending for the Isle of *Lundy* in the *Severn Sea*, the Lord Chancellor bearing 'em Company. But a Storm arising they were driven back to *Neath Abbey*, where they remain'd in great privacy till they were taken.

The Queen put out several Proclamations for him to return and re-assume the Government, which his Minion, the younger Spenser, knew was the same thing in the present Circumstances of their Affairs, as the delivering him up to the Common Hangman, and therefore prevented it.

Sir Robert's Reflections on this Head are very good: Such Ministers made desperate, hold their King the faster the more sinking their Condition is; and rather chuse that the Hazard of their Prince may save them, than their Ruin save their Prince, tho' perhaps in his prosperous Condition they flatter'd him, that their Lives and Fortunes should always be Sacrific'd for him. But 'tis equally strange, that Princes in great Power and Prosperity should with Pleasure believe Flatterers, and that those interested Flatterers should hope to be believed: It shows a fatal Weakness in One, and loose Designs in the Other.

From Bristol the Queen march'd to Hereford, where the Barons held a Convention of Peers, and the King refusing to appear among them, the Prince of Wales was declar'd Lord Warden of the Realm, and the Lords took an Oath of Allegiance to him.

King Edward was still living; the Unalienable, Indefeasible Right was according to our Modern Doctors inseparable from his Person. What were all the Bishops and Nobles of England doing? Good God! can Times and Seasons so alter the Nature of Things? or does there exist always a  
Sen-

Sentiment of Truth enlighten'd by Divine Rays from the God of it, that will break thro' all the Sophistry of Partial and interested Men? When they are themselves touch'd, the Cobweb Defences against Reason are soon torn to Pieces, and Nature Rebels against Principle.

During the Queen's Residence at *Hereford*, she sent the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lord *William de la Zouche*, and Mr *Rice ap Howell*, who had all an Interest in *Wales*, to endeavour, says the Chronicle, to apprehend the King; a strong Phrase so ill becoming our Notions of Obedience, that it ought no more to have a Place in our Chronicles: But notwithstanding all their Interest, they thought fit to make use of their Gold, by which means they discover'd the Place of the King's Abode, and took him in the Abbey of *Neath*, and with him *Hugh Spencer*, Earl of *Gloucester*, Sir *Robert Baldock*, Lord Chancellor, and *Simon Reading*; the rest of his Domesticks were dismiss'd. The King was deliver'd to the Earl of *Leicester*, who convey'd him to *Killingworth Castle*, where he remain'd the whole Winter.

Now comes the Castrophe of these Tyrannical Ministers, who thought their Authority so well establish'd, that Fate itself could not shake it. Where now is the Insolence of Arbitrary Favourites? Where the Worship of mercenary Flatters? Where the Buffoon to divert them with Scandal on Men of Merit? Where the Libeller to attribute to them the



Qualities which they Envy and persecute in others.

The Earl of *Arundel* was taken at *Bristol* and beheaded. *Perhaps the Execution of this Lord, says Sir Robert Howard, might the sooner be caus'd by his Relation to the younger Spencer, who marry'd his Daughter; but the same thing that creates a Prosperous Interest in one Condition brings Ruin in another.* What Sir Robert observes on this Event, should methinks have been a Caution to others not to be too fond of Alliances with Favourites in ill Times, for fear of sharing in their Destruction as well as in their Prosperity: For my own part, if I had liv'd under the Tyranny of such wicked Ministers, I should have look'd on their Greatness as a Theatrical Pomp only, which the next Scene would turn into a Tragedy; for Justice will at one time or other be sure to exert itself against Oppression, as in the Example of the younger *Spencer*, who was carry'd along only to Grace the Queen's marching *Triumph*, and as the chief Cause of her taking Arms, he was render'd as Contemptible a Spectacle as was possible, being expos'd in a fitting Posture to encrease the Scorns and Reproaches that usually attend such miserable Objects. *And perhaps, says the same Honourable Author, some were mingled in the Crowd that had formerly, in his Prosperous Greatness saluted him with fawning Acclamations.*

At last he was brought forth to receive the Reward of his Rapine, Pride and Cruelty

elty, and on the 24th of November 1326, was drawn and hang'd at Hereford on a Gallows 50 Foot high, his Head was stricken off, his Body Quarter'd, and the Head sent to London to be set on the Bridge. He was drawn to the Gallows in his own Armour, on which the following 7 first Verses of the 52d Psalm were embroïder'd in Letters plain enough to be read.

*Quid Gloriaris in Malitia Potens? &c.*

*In our Version.*

1. Why boastest thou thou thy self in Mischief, Oh mighty Man! the Goodness of God endureth continually.
2. Thy Tongue deviseth Mischief; like a sharp Razor, working deceitfully.
3. Thou covetest Evil more than Good, and Lying more than to speak Righteousness.
4. Thou lovest all devouring Words, Oh thou deceitful Tongue.
5. God shall likewise destroy thee for ever; he shall take thee away, and pluck thee out of thy Dwelling Place, and root thee out of the Land of the Living.
6. The Righteous also shall See and Fear, and shall laugh at him.
7. Lo, this is the Man that made not God his Strength, but trusted in the Abundance of his Riches, and strengthned himself in his Wickedness.

The same Day Simon de Reading was hang'd on the same Gallows, but he had the favour to hang Ten Foot lower. This Person had abus'd his Interest at Court so far

far, as not only to treat the most Eminent deserving Noblemen and Gentlemen with Contempt, but even to insult the Queen herself in so infamous a manner as to call her Names. The Favourites involv'd their Friends in the same Ruin; *John Daniel Esq;* and *Thomas de Milseldure Esq;* were hang'd at *Hereford*, an End which all those may expect who Sacrifice the Laws to the Pleasure of ill Ministers. The Chancellor *Baldock* had been a Creature of the Chief Favourites, but not quite so bad; his Life was therefore spar'd, and he was committed to the keeping of the Bishop of *Hereford*, who was afterwards perswaded to give him up to his Enemies, and they threw him into *Newgate*, where he dy'd with Grief, a Piece of History some of his Successors wou'd have done well to have been better acquainted with.

The Queen having so happily effected what she came for, remov'd to *London*, where a Parliament was holden. The Members were all Men of *Revolution Principles*, for it pass'd *Nemine Contradicente*, 'That for divers Articles then exhibited against the King, he was not worthy to Reign, and therefore should be depos'd.

The Throne being thus Vacant, they Voted his Eldest Son the Duke of *Aquitain* into his Place. After which the Archbishop of *Canterbury* preach'd a Sermon, taking for his Text *Vox Papuli est Vox Dei*. I make no doubt by the Voice of the People



ple he did not understand the Clamour of a Tumultuous Rabble accomplishing their bad Designs by Violence, but the Free Unanimous Peaceable Vote of the Estates of Parliament, under no Foreign Influence, where every Man Votes for the Good of the Publick, and is ready to Seal that Vote with his Blood.

One cannot imagine, that this good Archbishop of *Canterbury* meant Tumult and Anarchy by *Vox Populi*. Would he have preach'd such Doctrine to the Parliament of *England*? No surely; he only meant the Right that Law and Nature had given them to secure themselves against the Tyranny of a corrupt Administration. The Queen left the Asserters of Liberty here; she took mightily to Heart, that her Husband was to lose his Kingship. Indeed who could blame her? For her Son being a *Minor*, must have Governors, and they would doubtless have a larger share of the Regal Authority than those she might place about the King, if the Government existed still in his Person.

Be it as it will, the Prince, to oblige his Mother, protested he would not accept the Crown without his Father's Consent, which the Parliament was willing to gratify them both in, and appointed Committees of both Houses to attend the King in order to procure it. The Deputies were

Three Bishops

*John de Strasford*, Bishop of *Winchester*,

*Adam de Forlton*, Bishop of *Hereford*,

*Henry* Bishop of *Lincoln*.

Two

Two Earls, The Earl of *Leicester*,  
The Earl of *Warwick*.

Two Abbots.

Two Barons, The Lord *Ross*,  
The Lord *Courtney*.

Two Priors. Two Judges. Four Fryers.

Four Knights. Two Citizens of *London*.

Two Burgesſes for the *Cinque Ports*.

The Fryers Minors would ſend no Deputation, the King having been always particularly kind to them, and I queſtion not in return they ſtickled mightily for his *Divine, Alienable, Indefeſible* Right. The Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln* went to *Killingworth* Caſtle, where the Earl of *Leiceſter* kept King *Edward* in an Honourable Reſtraint, before the reſt of the Deputies, to diſpoſe him to conſent to his Abdication. They repreſented to him, if he reſuſ'd to reſign the Crown, the People were ſo ſet againſt him, they wou'd ſurely Elect a Man for their King who ſhou'd not be of his Blood. They endeavour'd to perſwade him that he was bound in Conſcience to do it for the Good of the Kingdom.

King *Edward*, inſtead of hearkning to them, fell into a violent Paſſion, which in time wearing off, he begins to reflect with himſelf, that really this Deputation was a Matter of Form only; that the Parliament wou'd certainly proceed to a new Election, if he did not conſent to that of his Son, and then probably they would have no Conſideration to his Family; which Reflections prevailed with him to ſubmit to what the Parliament

had

had done against him for his Son. Soon after came the Bishop of Hereford and the rest of the Deputies, of whom almost half were Clergymen. The Bishop of Hereford spoke for them, acquainting him with the Matter of their Deputation. 'Twas plain enough to be seen by the King's Looks, that he did not like the Message nor the Messengers; especially the Bishop of Hereford, whom he hated for siding formerly with the Barons, and the Bishop as much hated him for the Persecutions he had met with during the Ministry of the Minions. However, King Edward put on the most chearful Countenance he could, and said, He knew he was fallen into this Misery through his own Offences, and he was contented patiently to endure it. However, it could not but grieve him that he had so incur'd the hatred of his People. He thank'd the Lords that they had so forgotten past Injuries, as to bear so much good Will to his Son; wherefore to satisfy them, since so it must be, he utterly renounc'd his Right to the Crown, and to the Administration of the Kingdom; praying them to forgive in his Misfortunes the Faults he had committed against them.

He made his Resignation in Mourning, and Swoon'd away when he came forth to the Deputies. Upon this Resignation and Delivery of the Royal Ensigns, the Deputies caus'd a formal Renunciation to be pronounc'd, which was done by William Trussel in these Words:

Unto Thee, O King, William Trussel in the Name of all the Men of England, and Prolo-

cutor



cutor of this Parliament, resign to Thee Edward the Homage that was made to Thee some time, and from this Time forth deprive Thee of all Kingly Power, and I shall never be Attendant on Thee as King after this Time.

The Deputies return'd to London, and great was the Joy with which they were receiv'd, their Answer giving them Power to proceed to the Choice of a King, which the Parliament did again on the 29th of January 1327. at which Time, to use the Old Chronicler's Antique Phrase, was the Third King Edward, Son to King Edward II. chosen and elected King of England by the Authority of the same Parliament, first, as before is said, confirm'd by his Father's Resignation. There indeed was not much Resistance in this Revolution more than in the late King James's, and the Truth is, ill Ministers make wretched Heroes, few that dare act such Crimes having the Courage to defend 'em, and so Cowardly always is Guilt

This was without a Blow, says Sir Robert Howard, which shews no Force to be greater than the Powers of Injuries and Oppressions. And upon all such Occasions, the Weight of this Nation has ever been heavy enough to hoist up any Power built upon Oppression. For though in Prosperity and the full Gust of Power, this mighty force lying (as it were in Ambush) in the vexed Minds of injur'd Subjects is undiscern'd and slighted; and the fatal Precedents made by the Errors of others are seldom made use of to our selves, yet when it begins to shew it self, it seems no wonder that the united Minds  
of

of all conclude for themselves: But Men are so much their own Flatterers that they believe every thing Permanent they wish to be so, and Favourites that cannot submit to share a common Benefit, venture at uncertain Advantages, and make it a Principle to depend more upon Men's Fears than Love. By the Mighty and Ambitious, Mischief and Disturbance are wrought, but the Weak and Moderate desire Peace and Quietness.

These Reflections are so admirable, that I recommend them to the Reader in a very particular Manner, and doubt not he will put them to the good use for which Sir Robert intended them. He goes on, Princes sometimes believe that the Right of Power should preserve them notwithstanding the want of Conscience in the using it. But when their Errors have contracted Enemies, and the same Errors rais'd Accidents enough to give Power and Opportunity to those Enemies, misguided Princes, like this unhappy King, will find, that injur'd People with as much want of Tenderneſs will revenge their Wrongs as they shew'd in the Oppression.

So far in this History we go along with the Assertors of Liberty, and here we must leave the chief Agents, it being stain'd by the Catastrophe. There never was so good a Cause that no Bad Men were concern'd in it. I have heard a very Zealous Friend of the Monarchy say, he could have kept Company with the Round Heads till they modell'd their Army in the Parliament Wars, and pointed their Arms against the Person of the King. No further will Religion or

Reason warrant an Honest Man to stir, and it is pity those who could have a share in the latter part of the History of this Revolution, had any in the former.

The Earl of *Leicester*, who had the keeping of King *Edward* at his Castle of *Killingworth*, treating him with Humanity and Respect, the Bishop of *Hereford* who, on the account of his Troubles, bore him an irreconcilable Hatred, inform'd the Queen of the Earl's Civility to her Husband, representing the danger of such his Indulgence to the new King's Dignity. Upon this he was taken from the Earl, and put into the Custody of the Lord *Berkley* and the Lord *John Marrevers*, who convey'd him to *Berkley Castle* in *Gloucestershire*, where his good Usage by the Lord *Berkley* gave his Enemies as much Offence as the Earl of *Leicester's* at *Killingworth* had done. The Lord *Berkley* was therefore soon discharg'd of his Office, and Sir *Thomas Gourney* put in his stead, jointly with the Lord *Marrevers*, whose Conduct gave entire Satisfaction to those that wish'd the King ill.

These two Keepers carry'd him privately from one strong Place to another, till they brought him to *Conse Castle*, travelling always by Night for fear he should be taken from them, as they had Reason to apprehend, the Male Practices of his Ministers being forgot, now they had expiated for their Crimes with their Blood, and the Misfortunes of the King touching all Hearts capable of Compassion.

From



From *Carly*, when the Noise of his being at *Berkley Castle* was over, they remov'd him with as great Privacy thither again, imagining no Body would suspect him to be there.

In all their Travels from Place to Place, no despitoful Usage was omitted to him; Insolence in Adversity being the Property of base and cruel Natures. *Bristol Castle* was one Place of his Confinement, where they carry'd him upon an Alarm of some design'd Attempt to release him, and by the way, to keep him from being known, they made the wretched King sit upon the Ground, and caus'd a Barber to shave him with Water fetch'd from a Ditch, at which he said, *I will supply you with warm Water*, meaning his Tears, which he shed plentifully. What Ruffians must these his Keepers be? What a Shame to our Country? What an Image of Royalty is this, thus reduc'd by the evil Counsel of Flatterers.

The Queen sent him kind Letters, Cloaths and Necessaries, but never would visit him in Person, pretending she durst not do it, lest the Present Ministry should be alarm'd, whereas 'twas thought she was all the while Privy to the Bishop of *Hereford's* Plot to take him off, especially upon the Conspiracy of the Earl of *Kent*, his Brother to set him at Liberty, which Conspiracy of the Earl of *Kent*, though it was discover'd and prevented, the Ministry were afraid of punishing the Authors of, so Powerful were they, and the

the People so offended at King Edward's Imprisonment. The Bishop of Hereford however wrote sharp Letters to his Keepers for using him too well, though in reality his Usage was hard enough, and finding his Friends would never be quiet as long as he was living, and in Restraint to ruin their Hopes of his Restauration, he signify'd to the Keepers, that it would be well taken if he was sent out of the World, by this Expression capable of two Senses, and likely to be constru'd in the worst, to save himself and get rid of his Enemy.

*Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.*

*To kill Edward design not to fear it is good.*  
Which Riddle may run thus,

*To kill Edward design, not to fear it is good.*

*To kill Edward design not, to fear it is good.*  
For as the Comma is plac'd, the Advice is for or against his Murder. These bloody Executioners took it in the worst Sense, and after several less Odious ways of dispatching him, try'd in vain, they perpetrated their Cruelty in a manner too barbarous and obscene for History. The Contrivers of this wicked Plot disown'd the Actors in it, and Gourney and Metrevers were forc'd to fly the Kingdom. Gourney was taken at Marseilles, and to prevent any Confession, had his Head striken off at Sea. Metrevers repented of his Sin, and dy'd a Penitent in Germany: But the Bishop of Hereford and the Lord Mortimer, who had the chief Hand in that bloody Business, took

took on them the Rule of the Kingdom, by favour of the Queen, the young King being but fourteen years of Age. Such was the End of King *Edward*: Though the far greater number of the Barons who had join'd with the Queen, knew nothing of the Conspiracy against the Person of the King, and had an Abhorrence of the Fact, when 'twas done, yet it was doubtless a Stain upon the Cause, and ought to teach all true *Englishman* to keep strictly to the Rules of Justice. For those that pretending the Publick, mean themselves only, will stick at nothing to accomplish their base Designs, and often make use of the blind Zeal of well meaning People, whom they hurry on from one desperate Counsel to another, till it is not in their Power to prevent the Mischief they did not foresee.

A Character of *Edward II.* by Sir  
*Robert Howard.*

*He came to the Crown after it had been settled by his Father, and never appeared a Man till he was to be so no more. He never attempted True Glory, and before he was a King gave little Testimony of his Fitness to be so: He never appear'd able to Judge, but wholly submitted himself to the interested Opinion of others. He was Inconstant in all Conditions: In Prosperity Bold and Violent; in Danger Fearful and Temperate: His Promise was no Security, and Disimulation was his Policy; so that from such Methods of Government the Nation could expect*



not Success or true Happiness. He was Submissiv<sup>e</sup>  
 when oppos'd, and fierc<sup>e</sup> when submitt<sup>d</sup>. He  
 always abus'd the Tenderne<sup>s</sup>s of others, and sel-  
 dom shew'd any of his own; never forgiving  
 where he had Opportunity to punish. He never  
 either had Power nor Design to Conquer Enemies;  
 but us'd both to overcome his Friends. Others  
 were Masters of him, and not he of himself;  
 and those that resist<sup>d</sup> prov'd more Forewa<sup>r</sup>d  
 than those that submit<sup>d</sup>. In Danger he de-  
 pend<sup>d</sup> on others, and in Prosperity govern'd  
 Rules of Virne<sup>y</sup>, but suffer'd the Fickles of Fortune  
 to be his Example: He knew little how to use  
 Power, and less how to use it. Chances some-  
 times brought, and his giddy Favourites Dissolv'd.  
 He never seem'd inclin'd to make good Lawes;  
 and was always contriving to evade those that  
 were made. He shew'd little Skill how to gain, and  
 as little how to preserve. He was advis'd  
 to the mistaken Policy of neglecting Love, and  
 to the Folly of abusing Trust. He had great  
 Supplies, but made no Purchas<sup>e</sup> with them of  
 Honour or Interest. What good Princes bestow  
 for the Publi<sup>c</sup>k Good, he gave away to his pri-  
 vate Favourites, and wanted more to supply his  
 Avarice and Ambition, than good Princes did  
 to enlarge the Nation's Glory. The private  
 Conquests the Favourites made him were more  
 chargeable than the Victories his Father obtain'd  
 over Nations. He return'd nothing to his Sub-  
 jects for what they gave; neither by the Brave-  
 ry of Arms to crush the Greatne<sup>s</sup>s of their Ene-  
 mies, nor by Vertue of good Lawes to encrease the  
 Prosperity of the People. He seem'd not fitt<sup>d</sup>  
 in himself to attempt the first, and too much  
 influenc'd by Favourites to attempt the last. He  
 fear'd

fear'd the Greatness of his Subjects more than  
 their Enemies, and shew'd that he would rather  
 have conquer'd at Home than Abroad; as if he  
 would chuse to make his own People Slaves ra-  
 ther than others. He apprehended the effect of  
 good Laws, and was most pleas'd with those  
 that betray'd the Trust of Justice, and the  
 Judges esteem'd most Loyal that were most  
 readily wicked. Those were his greatest Favou-  
 rites that the People most hated, and the greatest  
 Enemies to Men were reputed the best Friends to  
 him. He divided his Interest from his Subjects,  
 whose Complaint of Grievances rather procur'd  
 Punishment than Redress. He thought his Peo-  
 ple's Good was inconsistent with his Power, and  
 that to be sensible of Oppression, was to be Rebel-  
 lious. He was always unsuccessful, and forsa-  
 ken at last when Fortune seem'd to smile upon  
 him.

He makes the same Character serve  
 for Richard II. with no Variation but in his  
 Death, the latter dying bravely. The  
 quite contrary Character is that of Edward  
 I. and Edward III.

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